Fellowship

• *February, 1951* • Vol. XVII—No. 2 • 20 cents a copy—$2.00 a yea

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Prayer

Plagues you may send us, Lord, do as you please.
Have mercy, though, and do not send us guilt.
Strike us, if that's your will, but keep us free
From striking others—so we're free from guilt.

Should you prefer, O Lord, purge us with grief.
Gratefully we should like to be made pure.
For mercy's sake, let us beware of this:
(Free us, release us, Lord, let us endure)
That tortured we may not bring others pain,
That chastised we may not become somebody's scourge.
O Lord, the Cross we'll bear and even choose,
Our Cross, but not some other person's purge.

—Otto Freiherr Von Taube

Is Global War INEVITABLE?

Very Nearly So, says— **Mulford Q. Sibley**

There Is Still Hope, says— **Vernon Nash**

The Global Picture—1951, by A. J. Muste

The City of Brotherly Love Comes Through, by Albert V. Fowler

ff In this issue we begin a series of articles that will examine the state of the world today and the pacifist's relation to it. Vernon Nash and Mulford Sibley write on the broad subject "Is War Inevitable?" If yes, where do we go from here; and if no, what can we do to prevent the cataclysm that hangs over us? Future articles will deal with civil defense, civil disobedience, the draft, tax-refusal, underground movements, and a number of other subjects. . . . The debate has been long and warm in liberal circles for years over the efficacy of the law in dealing with racial prejudice and discrimination. Albert V. Fowler, in "The City of Brotherly Love Comes Through," tells the case history of FEPC in that city, and concludes that it has been extremely useful and efficacious. . . . A. J. Muste gives one of his masterly analyses of the political situation, touched off this time by Senator Taft's January speeches. . . . The poem on the cover was translated by Olga Lee, wife of a Chinese representative to the U.N.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

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New York 32, N. Y.

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a year

Fellowship
the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation
February, 1951 Vol. XVII—No. 2

The Global Picture—1951

By A. J. MUSTE

THE DIFFERENCE between President Truman and Senator Taft, as revealed in the latter's speech in the Senate on January 5, has to do with the diplomatic and military tactics to be followed in the global war against Russia and communism.

It almost boils down to this: Shall the United States build a huge land army capable of engaging the land forces of the Communist bloc countries, especially in Europe; *or* shall it forego the building of a large land force and depend on its navy, air force, and atomic stockpile to deter Russia from direct aggression against western Europe or to punish and delay the Communist forces if war should come, until the United States can build the land army the Senator admits will then be necessary? Put another way it is a question of whether the European peoples shall bear the brunt of the fighting in the early stages of the war, with the United States committing its own manpower in the later stages—the pattern of the first and second World Wars—or whether this time America shall commit substantial numbers of G.I.'s from the outset.

The astonishingly explosive effect of the Taft speech, considering that the difference *is* only in the realm of tactics, is explained by the fact that it revealed how deeply divided the nation's leaders are among themselves at a moment when they are in the position of a group of generals on the very eve of a battle with a formidable enemy. And this division in turn arises from the desperate dilemma with which the United States is now confronted, especially in Germany and Western Europe.

Taft's Global War

At the outset, it may be well to dispose of the idea that Taft may be a sort of leader of a peace movement in this country or that

he is disposed to be "soft" or conciliatory in his attitude toward Russia or communism.

Such a notion finds not the least support in his speech or in the highly illuminating discussion with such Senators as Fulbright, Morse, and Paul Douglas that accompanied it. He declares unequivocally: "Our battle against communism is in fact a worldwide battle, and must be fought on the world stage." The only reference to the possibility of peace or better relations occurs in connection with his assertion that we must make our own military policy and alliances "without regard to the non-existent power of the UN to prevent aggression." This is preceded by the very revealing sentence: *"For the present,* we must make use of the UN, *as best we may,* as a *diplomatic weapon,* and through it we *may hope* that more friendly relations can be established with Russia." (Italics mine.) "For the present" and "as best we may"—that is, until we write the UN off altogether. And what would Freud say about establishing friendly relations by a weapon?

A cursory list of the places where Mr. Taft would be willing to use American naval and air forces to check communism includes Japan, Formosa, the Far East, the Near East, India, the Suez Canal, Africa, Malaya, Singapore, Spain, western Europe, Indo-China, Indonesia, New Zealand, and Australia. Among the places "where it may even be wise to commit some land troops if we can see a reasonable chance of success" are the Suez Canal, since "the entire Continent of Africa is connected with Asia," and Northern Africa "where we hold valuable air bases." As someone has said, for isolationists these Americans do certainly get around!

European Rearmament

The situation in Germany and Western Europe presents the United States with an awesome dilemma. It is primarily over what Mr. Taft regards as an incorrect appraisal of that situation, as he repeatedly insisted to his fellow Senators, that he is upbraiding the Truman Administration.

The Administration policy is one of pushing for the rearmament of western Europe, including the western section of Germany, and contributing fairly substantial American land forces to the combined European armies. This policy is based on the classical assumption of American foreign policy that if some one nation—in this case Russia—comes to dominate Europe, American interests and security are in jeopardy. In particular, the Communist bloc must not control the Ruhr-Lorraine arsenal, since in that case the industrial-technological superiority of the democratic nations would be nearly wiped out. Since they are already inferior in manpower, this would be fatal.

For various reasons, however, European rearmament lags. Multitudes of Europeans simply do not want to fight again. The French are afraid of a revived German military establishment. All fear that if Europe is rearmed, especially Germany, Russia will feel bound to fight, and in this case western Europe will be swiftly overrun. The best it can then hope for is to be "liberated" by

the United States *after* the Russians have been atom-bombed out of Europe.

This is the position *unless* the United States is prepared to put in substantial ground forces who will fight side by side with the Europeans at the Elbe line. In these circumstances, argue the White House, the State Department, and presumably the Pentagon, the United States cannot ask Europeans to rearm first and then get American aid. They can consider the effort to rearm worth making *only* if the United States in a considerable measure stakes its own forces first, and links its own survival integrally with that of western Europe.

The Taft school counters that if the Europeans will not take the initiative—and incur admittedly colossal risks—in rearming, if they are not deeply determined to fight, American aid will not decisively alter the situation. To send Eisenhower, an American general, to take charge may even defeat the purpose, since the enterprise will be regarded as an American one from the beginning, and the disposition to ask for more and more American aid will be overwhelming. There will still be no assurance that the Europeans will really fight, but the chances will be substantially increased that Russia, feeling threatened, will attack.

In the Senate debate Taft granted that if the Russians seized Western European steel centers, the United States would "undoubtedly" feel bound to blow these up, but argued in effect that this would still make more sense, and would not be essentially more immoral, than to place the whole American economy in peril by trying to maintain a three million man army and having American infantrymen slaughtered in Europe as they are being slaughtered in Korea.

Has America Any Allies?

This does not yet give us the full picture of the pessimism Mr. Taft feels about the American position at the moment. He defended Mr. Hoover from the charge of advocating "retirement to the American continent." What Hoover did was only to urge that "emphasis be placed on our defense of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, *as it should be particularly if all of our allies should abandon us.*" (Italics mine.)

It is this possibility—that the United States, for the moment at least, may be standing alone with its back to the wall—that Mr. Taft clearly envisages. He evidently thinks that this, and not the assumption that we have reliable allies, should be the basis of our political and military calculations. He does not appear to hold out the hope that if we supply other nations with money and materials without committing our own land forces, they may help us hold the Russians in check. This in effect would come close to making mercenaries of them and expecting their boys rather than ours to do the dying.

My own impression is that Mr. Taft at this point is simply trying to put as good a face as possible on what he regards as an ugly situation, and that his real conviction is that, until we can demonstrate more power, we have to be prepared to go it alone. Another strong reason for thinking so is that in an exchange with

Wayne Morse, Taft entertained with apparent calm the possibility that Russia might prevail in Germany and in that case would be unlikely to attack "France or Britain in a military way." He suggests "that in all probability they would rely on the British making some sort of arrangement, with British Socialism not particularly objecting to communism"!

Is This Appeasement?

The liberal intellectuals already are exclaiming that the horns and cloven hoof of Mr. Taft's capitalism are showing here, and one or two commentators of the non-Communist left have intimated that the specter of a "settlement" providing for demarcation of spheres of influence between Russia and the United States begins clearly to emerge. Under this arrangement Europe would be surrendered for the time being to the Soviets. Reactionary Stalinism and reactionary capitalism, the liberals will have it, would perpetrate this scandalous "betrayal."

In a world where anything may happen, the idea that such a temporary arrangement might be made is, in my opinion, not as fantastic as some may think. It would not even be essential that Mr. Truman be replaced by Mr. Taft in the White House for this to happen. Whether it does or not depends mainly upon whether Mr. Taft or his opponents are right as to the balance of forces in the world today. It seems to me there is considerable reason to think that on this point Mr. Taft may be correct—in other words, that the United States has made military commitments it cannot back up, that there is great doubt that western Europe can be rearmed to an adequate degree, that the United States' allies are few and not too reliable, and that a serious effort to put off an atomic showdown will have to be made. I am speaking, of course, in terms of power politics, not of morality.

Is This Peace?

It is obvious that a large number of people in the United States are powerfully drawn to the Hoover-Taft position and believe there might be security or at least momentary relief in "getting out of the mess in Korea and Europe," in strengthening "the bastion of the Western Hemisphere," and so on. A temporary arrangement regarding "spheres of influence" probably would be hailed by some as proof at last that "the co-existence" of the two regimes is possible.

These ideas and hopes are illusions. It will take much more to turn the world away from war.

For one thing, if the United States should suffer further setbacks in Korea and not succeed in building the Atlantic Pact army, that would mean a great improvement in the power-position of the Communist bloc. To suppose that this bloc will not press its advantage, and that with a still powerful, atomically armed United States across the water it suddenly will turn trusting and peaceable, is surely a delusion. Daily I feel more deeply that militarized nationalism, whether it be American or Russian, is a demonic thing; but I also find myself more critical of the fiction that if Truman and Taft, Acheson and Dulles, were only a little more reason-

able, the only real obstacle to world peace would be removed.

Advocates Bolshevik Methods

Moreover, Mr. Taft has made it clear that his policy, like Truman's, is one of war to the finish against Russia and communism. This will bear documenting. We have already quoted his statement that the battle is worldwide. He is also explicit as to how the battle is to be waged: "Communism has introduced a new spirit of aggression into the world. . . . It has adopted a combination of deceit, propaganda, and strongarm methods. . . . *Now we are forced to adopt the same methods which communism has adopted, or be swept away.*" (Italics mine.)

We have already given a general list of countries all over the world where, according to the Senator from Ohio, this kind of fight is to be waged. Note now a few specific items in his program of all-out war.

1. "Japan is a special case." There ought to be an immediate treaty made with Japan. "Such a treaty should provide for assistance from the United States in the air and on the sea and temporarily perhaps with a few divisions on land until the Japanese can create their own land army for defensive (sic) purposes." That is to say, the pacifist clause in the Japanese constitution is to be scrapped.

2. In Formosa and on the Chinese mainland Chiang Kai-shek and "the free Chinese" should get supplies and money.

3. If we are going to continue fighting Chinese ourselves, "We might as well have a declared war. It would untie the hands of our military commanders, and force the return of some of their army to China."

4. We should defend, even with land troops, the Suez Canal and American air bases in North Africa.

5. Not only in China but everywhere else we should go in for stimulating and supporting internal revolt against Communist regimes. Mr. Taft is commendably honest in underscoring what he means: "We should use the same methods of infiltration as have the Russians. We need a much more effective intelligence force. . . . We can back . . . the underground" in China and elsewhere. He concludes by bringing his "line" and his tactics completely in harmony with Stalin's by adding: "We should not be a military aggressor or give the impression of military aggression or incite a war which might otherwise never occur." Needless to add, this is what the Russians and Chinese have in mind when *they* charge *us* with aggression, phony peace professions, and preparation for preventive war.

Needless also to add that in view of all this, no one should attach undue weight to Mr. Taft's indignation over the President's failure to ask the consent of Congress to send troops abroad. In a sense the point is well taken, but in its context it is a very minor item. Mr. Taft's way of waging global war is no more compatible with democratic process or the preservation of civil liberties than Mr. Truman's. Neither the general run of Congressmen nor the American people will be taken into the confidence of the "intelligence force" that is going to finance and

work with the anti-Communist "underground" in Mr. Taft's scheme.

A young theologian* recently suggested that we live today "in a situation in which calculation becomes less and less possible." The issues involving the use of modern military force "become too big to be decided by merely weighing alternatives."

Is this not obviously true of any attempt to "calculate" whether the Truman or the Taft course is "the lesser evil"? The attempt to do so, when either course plainly leads to catastrophe, is no longer an exercise in reason. In political terms, we shall have to find a much more revolutionary solution or we are doomed. In terms of religion or ultimate philosophy: "We must accept political responsibility in the present crisis. . . . But perhaps a real responsibility means the paradoxical rejection of calculative politics. . . . There may yet come an opportunity to break the vicious circle of an arms race in suicidal weapons. If it does come, we will never perceive it in a political framework only, but in the light of an ultimate demand." The cost of making a leap of faith, the author suggests, "is not cheap, but reliance upon political schemes may be costlier still."

Postscript

This is the situation, of course, as seen from an American standpoint. How does it look when considered from the standpoint of people in western Europe?

As there are a good many Americans who are highly critical of Europeans, so there will be a good many Europeans who will think harshly of Americans, and especially of the so-called isolationists. What I have tried to say in this article is that most Americans are trying to deal with the crisis into which they have so suddenly been catapulted in the old terms of national survival and "interests" and by the means of military power on which these are supposed finally to depend. It is important to remember that this is the case, and to be on guard against giving undue weight to the moralizing and rationalizing in which people indulge when they are engaged in these prudential calculations. My contention is that in these terms and by these military means there is no solution for the problem Americans face, but only madness and catastrophe.

Europeans are in the same boat. For the most part, they too are still seeking to deal with the situation in terms of national "interests" and material power. A good deal of the "pacifism" in Europe today, though by no means all, represents a simple prudential calculation that a war could not be won, so it is better to submit.

The German Social Democratic Party, for example, which is in the vanguard of the movement against rearmament in Western Germany, would favor rearmament if German armed forces were to be on a basis of full equality with other nationals, if the United States also commits ground forces, and if Germans are permitted to fight to get back former German territories. This is an attempt to get the United States to pay a high price for rearmament. Those who make it do not have

* Edward Leroy Long, *Christian Responsibility in the Atomic Crisis*, Westminster Press, 1950.

sound moral grounds for blaming the American government for trying to bring the price down. And, of course, our government ought not to take moral offense either.

Similarly, Americans who are four thousand miles away are in a poor position to condemn Europeans who are face to face with the Russian divisions, for deciding that they prefer submission to a Communist regime to the extermination they believe involvement in a third World War would entail. But in their inmost hearts these Europeans know that the former also spells material and spiritual catastrophe. They, too, are "in a situation in which calculation becomes less and less possible." They, too, can be saved only if they find a different and revolutionary way to resist the disintegrating and demonic forces of our day, whether embodied in American or Russian or any other nationalism and violence. The leap of faith that is now called for will not be cheap for Europeans either, but for them also "reliance upon political schemes may be costlier still."

God Be In Your Heart

May God be ever in your heart. Strive to see God in all things without exception, and acquiesce in His will with absolute submission. Do everything for God, uniting yourself to Him by a mere upward glance, or by the overflowing of your heart towards Him. Never be in a hurry; do everything quietly and in a calm spirit. Do not lose your inward peace for anything whatsoever; even if your whole world seems upset. Commend all to God. . . . Whatever happens, abide steadfastly in a determination to cling simply to God, trusting to His eternal love for you; and if you find that you have wandered forth from His shelter, recall your heart quietly and simply.

—From *Wise and Loving Counsels*
St. Francis de Sales

THE QUESTION ALL THE WORLD IS ASKING TODAY IS—

Is Globa

THE DEGREE OF PESSIMISM NOW PREVALENT IS NOT WARRANTED, THERE IS STILL HOPE, SAYS—

VERNON NASH

Program Vice-President, United World Federalists

IN 1938 THE EDITOR of FELLOWSHIP put to me essentially the same question I am asked now as we pass into the second half of man's bloodiest century. What should and can we do in the face of apparently inevitable war?

The continuing obligation upon any corporate group, as upon any individual, is to emphasize in conversations, correspondence, and all other available ways, the course of action that seems to each person or group to be the most adequate answer to a perplexity. There is no magic short-cut, but we are entitled to this basis of hope and faith: the compulsion of circumstances is working for us as well as against us, and can produce very swift changes in the basic nature of the situation that confronts us. Note, for example, the almost universal discrediting of the conventional "league" concept of collective security in the last few months.

Governments cannot long ignore a clarified and fully articulate public opinion. What else is public opinion but the cumulative result of a multitude of individual opinions, expressed often enough, clearly enough, and with sufficient insistence?

The central task of any group, therefore, is to do all it can to win general support for a conviction or for a preferred course and then, in order to get political action along such lines, to strive to make the idea or proposal a topic of universal discussion in speech and print. What choices have we, as a nation, in a war-torn world?

First, we might do nothing. Pacifists and nonpacifists are fully agreed that this is an utterly unacceptable answer. Contrary to a quite general caricature, passivеist and pacifist are not synonyms.

Second, we can let opponents choose the weapons to be used. However plausible the case for war may have been to most per-

(*Continued on page* 12)

War *INEVITABLE?*

VERY NEARLY SO—ONLY VERY DRASTIC AND UNLIKELY CHANGES CAN AVERT IT, THINKS—

MULFORD SIBLEY

Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota

MOST OF THE EXTERNAL SIGNS point in the direction of a third World War: the frantic armament race; the "emergency" atmosphere in both the United States and the Soviet Union; the loud assertions of peaceful intentions on both sides; and the rigidities of policy that have increasingly characterized both the Soviet and the American blocs, particularly since the Korean affair began. While the unexpected is always a possibility in human affairs, it would be astonishing indeed if in view of these facts a third World War did *not* materialize, if not immediately, at least within a decade. Only direct intervention by God or a drastic and wholesale change in outlook and policies can avert it.

What are the conditions without which, humanly speaking, a war would seem to be inevitable?

Disarmament. A minimum requirement is substantial progress toward disarmament, either by mutual agreement or unilaterally. It is fatuous to think of a "world order" the constituent parts of which are armed to the teeth. That is what makes a mockery of all the talk of "collective security" associated with the United Nations. So long as individual states or blocs of states feel that they must be heavily armed for "security" they will "aggress." And "aggression" will meet with countermeasures leading inevitably to war.

Elimination of the Principle of Coercion of States. The writers of the *Federalist* papers pointed out long ago that no system of order is possible if built on the premise that states as such can be effectively coerced. Coercion of states almost always means war, either directly or indirectly. Yet it is precisely upon this principle that one important aspect of the United Nations structure is constructed. To establish "order" by war—"police action" is the polite term—is a contradiction in terms. Only when

the *individual* is made the subject of law can there be an opportunity —an opportunity, not an assurance —of establishing some system of order. Yet both sides in the present conflict profess to believe that world order is compatible with heavily armed states and with the principle of coercion of states.

What Is Security?

A New Attitude toward Security. An even more basic issue arises at this point. When it is proposed to disarm, even by mutual agreement, the cry is immediately heard that before we disarm we must have guarantees of security—and the guarantees demanded usually take the form of "collective security"—that is, the principle of coercion of states. Thus disarmament is opposed unless and until "collective security" can be strengthened; but "collective security," as most often defined, means war. Somehow this vicious circle must be broken. I suggest that it *cannot* be broken unless a radically different attitude to "security" is developed.

In the first place, the belief that national armaments mean security must be thoroughly exploded. Armaments, at least in the modern world, never promote "security" but only accentuate insecurity. Defense Departments may think they can control atomic and biological weapons so that they do not become suicidal in nature, but it is increasingly true that every thrust at the heart of the "enemy" means a thrust at one's own heart. This is true not merely because the enemy will and can retaliate in kind but because the enormous task of constructing modern weapons tends to use all the resources of the society which the weapons purport to "defend."

Also involved is a second principle—a full recognition of the fact that any direct quest for absolute security is self-defeating. We become so "security-minded" and come to have so much confidence in "security" measures that we cease to use our minds, become increasingly stupid, and thus lose our power to adapt to new situations. We lose sight of the fact that security, like happiness, comes mainly, if at all, as a by-product of other activities. Insecurity is not primarily and ultimately the result of *external* aggression but rather the fruit of *internal* inadequacy—the absence of social justice, the loss of a sense of community, the failure to develop soul-stirring individual and social goals. A nation thus diseased will always be an easy prey to schemes that exalt force and dictatorship, whatever the external situation may be; a nation without these conditions could not for any long period succumb to force and dictatorship. Both sides in the contemporary conflict seek to make external foes responsible for the insecurities that, truth to tell, are generated primarily from within.

Predominant Emphasis on Positive International Action. If the world devoted one-half, yes, even one-third, the energy it now gives to the futile quest for security (through national military preparation and coercion of states) to support of such cooperative enterprises as the United Nations Children's Fund, refugee and displaced persons relief and rehabilitation (in which both the United States and the Soviet Union have very sorry records), and the

World Health Organization, a third World War would be much less likely. Yet attempts to move in this direction are constantly thwarted, not only by the Soviet Union, but by the United States. Senator McMahon's proposals fell largely on deaf official ears. Truman's "Point Four" program—inadequate as it was—became a shadow of itself after Congress had finished with it. Even where the principle of positive international action is accepted, it is often hamstrung by nationalistic and pressure group considerations and placed under national, rather than world administration.

What we are saying here boils down to this: some measure of world community must *precede* world "government"; yet the very measures that would most likely develop community (as contrasted with coercion of states and the dictatorial and force theories of the Soviet ruling class, which tend to inhibit community) are frowned upon.

A Basic Revolution in Outlook. Underlying this whole discussion is the plea for a basic reorientation in outlook. This is, I suppose, what many have called a spiritual revival, and provided the term is given some specific content it is probably a helpful concept. When a National Council of Churches commission emerges with conclusions that differ substantially from the "military expediency" viewpoint of the Pentagon; when trade union leaders get beyond the immediate issues and begin to see the implications of their war preparations for their fellow-workers elsewhere; when Americans comprehend (which they obviously do not today) the utter disillusionment with war that characterizes western Europeans; when Russian religious, political, and labor leaders in large numbers take off the nationalist and ideological blinkers that blind them as they blind their American counterparts; when educators and ministers cease predominantly to identify the will of God with American or Russian "security," as the case might be; when American liberals and Russian Bolsheviks become as concerned with the ethics of means as with the nobility of ends—when this, or a substantial part of this, comes about, we may believe that a true spiritual revival is here. And not until then.

What, Then, Should We Do?

Pacifists will gain nothing by pretending that a third World War is other than probable. The admonition to be as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves is appropriate. In all probability there is very little we can do, given our numbers and the hostility of both leaders and led to such principles as those stated above. Some things, however, we surely can do.

Unity and Charity. The last war revealed how widely separated we were on some issues (CPS, for example), and our attitudes toward one another in this respect were often far from charitable. As we confront the probability of a far more destructive and even more senseless war, it should be possible to see that, however great our own differences may be, we do have one important attribute in common: our attitude to war and violence. Whether Mennonite or War Resister, we refuse to wage war. Our inevitable differences we can treat good-humoredly and

never with bitterness. If pacifists cannot be peacemakers among themselves, what hope is there that they can ever be peacemakers for the world?

Education and Service. Pacifists can reiterate the minimum conditions for averting a third World War. They can teach them from street-corners and in pacifist publications. My own observation of students leads me to believe that those who are veterans of the last war are in many instances close to the pacifist position. There is, in other words, fertile ground. We should in no wise abate our educational program, even in the jaws of death. Disillusionment with war is already common in western Europe. Some day—perhaps only after bombing has taught the lesson—it will be equally common in the United States. It is our task to couple that disillusionment with a more positive program of service to human need, before, during, and after the war. Humanity will be suffering as never before, and the resources of those of us who survive will be even more slender than they are today. Adequate preparation can help us and help the world.

Self-Understanding. Pacifists tend in the direction of self-righteousness and often are insufferable egotists. We should purge ourselves of these characteristics. Actually we *know* relatively little about what should be done with the world. The ethical and political problem may come simply to be one of choosing to be either the executioner or the executed. The pacifist says in effect "I prefer to be the victim rather than the executioner." The nonpacifist takes the reverse position. Both positions are based on a faith that is "unprovable" in the ordinary sense.

Eschatology. "The end of things," as we have known them, is upon us. The pacifist should try to understand the social implications of what is taking place—the wiping out of the middle class, with whose fortunes he has been so largely associated; the destruction of the national state—which means that the United States as we have known it will be gone; the gradual elimination of the "American standard of living"; and progressive general impoverishment that could reduce the whole world to the economic level of the Orient. What attitude should the pacifist take? In what spirit will he accept these things? How will he prepare for the increasing possibility of death and brutality? If the "end of things" is near, is there another world beyond? If so, how does it impinge on the pacifist's view of his duty now? These are only a few of the questions pacifists should be asking as the existing order crumbles.

VERNON NASH

(*Continued from page* 8)

sons in the past, and still is, we can thank God and take courage at a counter-balancing fact. Growing numbers now see that war has become simply a system of mutual destruction and collective suicide. There is increasing recognition also that the astronomical costs of preparedness for modern war will themselves prove ruinous even if we escape total war.

Third, we can meet aggressive wrong with various forms of nonviolent resistance. Any aggressor

can be countered more effectively and at less cost by mass noncooperation than by mass murder and mass destruction. But the costs of such methods will also be colossal; in my judgment, they would be only slightly less grievous than those of war. I turn to Gandhi for guidance rather than Mars, therefore, not on the score of less sacrifice but in confidence of much greater effectiveness and in certainty of an ultimate constructive outcome. Yet by reason of the fearful costs involved in both types of resistance, neither method seems tolerable. What remains?

World Government Necessary

Fourth, we can create political agencies on the world level with physical facilities for prevention of wrong. The greatest service of genuine police forces is their ability to act preventively upon individual persons. The primary denotation of the word, peace, in common usage is "a system of security and order under law." In that sense, peace is now and always has been a by-product of just, responsible government. Why should we expect it to be otherwise internationally?

The most general, and virtually automatic, retort is that a governed world, however desirable, is obviously unattainable now. Unless one is willing to be a conforming drifter, the supreme moral duty is to stand for what *should* be without regard to current prospects for its consummation. When one appraises the odds against persuading enough persons to embrace pacifism for it to become public policy in our time, it seems strange to hear pacifists refusing to work for world government *merely* because it seems so remote a possibility. The foregoing sentence can, of course, be inverted with just as much logical validity. I have been giving myself all-out to the movement for a world federal government rather than to work for pacifism because I am convinced that a government for world affairs, when obtained, will be an adequate solution for the problem of mass violence (i.e., war).

Unrealistic Prerequisites

To insist that government is essential to the maintenance of security and order is not saying that a world government, even at its best, can produce a good world. There is little that governments at any level can do toward producing goodness. Only the resources of religion and education together can move mankind toward its potential perfectibility. Yet existing governments maintain order among quite imperfect individuals. No nation is inhabited by saints, but compare the conditions which exist within countries at their worst with the international behavior of these same nations!

Many pacifist leaders make their support of world government conditional upon the world federation's having certain virtues that are not possessed by any other governments under which they now live. I will readily grant to any person the right to make exactly the same demands upon a government for world affairs that they expect of their city, state and national governments—no more and no less. The world government that is coming will have the same imperfections that are found in other governments now operating

throughout the world, and for the same reason; its directing personnel will be human beings. Some governmental shortcomings are very bad; the evils of anarchy are worse.

Miracles Are Numerous

The degree of pessimism now prevalent is not warranted. Miracles in the sense of events that occur against uniform surface appearances and against unanimous expert judgment have been numerous in history, especially in times of crisis. Both world federalists and pacifists can properly cite the fact that the totally unexpected has been the common pattern in acutely critical periods. In addition, we can work with confidence as we see how often man has turned at long last to the right road as all other avenues became impassable.

The intervention of the Chinese in force in Korea largely destroyed at one stroke most of the pragmatic bases for every one of the major aspects of American foreign policy. With most of the world we had turned again at San Francisco to dependence upon the method of international vigilante bands. Adoption of the UN Charter disregarded, in Hamilton's words, "the accumulated experience of all the ages." Now, for the umpteen hundredth time, we have a convincing demonstration that a loose association of fully sovereign states provides no trustworthy assurance of peace.

The Truman Doctrine proclaimed that the United States would go to the aid of a nation that had been attacked anywhere on earth. Developments in Korea have shown that not even this, the most powerful nation the world ever saw, has strength enough to "police" the globe. So, almost frenetically, we turn to an exclusive dependence upon the oldest and hollowest of all man's bloody illusions, armed alliance. Europe has always doubted our willingness to defend it; now it doubts also our ability to do so. The latter doubt is expressed openly by some of the world's most able public figures. All in all, it is a very shaky foundation upon which to implement the Atlantic Pact.

The One Realism

Facing all this, United World Federalists urge a consistent and persistent offer by the United States of our willingness to join in transforming our UN league into a UN federal government. Such a course as the fundamental objective of American foreign policy is blithely dismissed by many as utopian idealism. In the light of what has been happening to all other alternatives, it seems to me the one realism.

An official effort to make drastic, basic revisions of the UN Charter, and pacifism, are the only untried courses in the midst of a series of tragic failures. Consequently, many who have been scoffers up to now are beginning to give way, at least to the extent of saying to advocates of world government: "Granted that you may be right that there are only two choices, enforceable world law or world war; still world government is only an ultimate solution. What can we do now?"

Such attitudes remind one of a patient who had been told repeatedly by his physician that a major operation was imperative but who

had steadily refused to submit to it. Finally, he returns to say: "Doctor, you must have been right; but obviously I'm in much too terrible shape to be able to have a major operation for the present. What can I do right now?" The world federalists' answer, and the pacifists', like the doctor's, can only be one affirmation: It is a major operation as soon as possible—or else.

TWO PROPHECIES FOR A PEOPLE

O Night dirge, of our blackened hour,
When hate runs rampant and we kill,
What hast thou to tell a nation
Steeped in the mad witch-hunt of races?

"Hear, O people. The race of whites is one.
And thou shalt love the God of Self—
Him who, in each heart wherein He dwells,
Destroys all else save pride and arrogance."

O Song of Dawn, of the halo-hour
Beyond this night's voice of death and ashes,
What hast thou to tell a nation
Straining through fire toward peace and freedom?

"Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one.
And thou shalt love the Lord thy God
With all thy heart, mind, soul, and strength
And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

—Robert Friend

TICKET TO PANDEMONIUM

(Politicians En Route)

Through brains that have forgotten harmony
Runs the elusive meaning of a pounding rhythm.
Now, they ride thundering through shadow,
And pushing past all things that wait and grow beside the track.
Sometimes, they stare without curiosity at other men,
Who from small fields of toil look up to see these faces,
And wonder at the power hurtling them onward . . .

—Carol Perry

Fireside Prayer

(Written after a meeting in which a group of young COs tried to explain their position to a gathering of people not sympathetic to them.)

Oh, Lord,
As embers are gathered together on the hearth
That from their common warmth they may put out
The glowing heat with which I bathe away
The troubles of the day,
So gather together the bits of soul-stuff that are human race;
Let them be gathered together in a clump, and bound—
Bound tightly by their common humanity.
Let them be gathered together—
Not like the stuff in bombs man-made,
Which, thrust together, strikes and rebounds,
Carrying discord whirling off in all directions,
Upsetting the peace of things
Which by right of nature ought to be—
Nor yet like useless painted figurines
Reposing placidly on a shelf in some ironic after-life;
But let them be gathered together
Here
Beneath this great dark dome of night
Where strange stars start and shoot
And split in sunder all that seemed to be
With strange crossed swords of light—
Crossed swords that doubt that there will be
Any future dawn or breaking of the day,
And lend to each
The other's weak and feebly glowing light.
Oh, Lord, let them be gathered together,
And then from them create—
From their old dreams and yearnings then create
A newer force and radiance
Which shall smother all old hates and fears.
Oh, Lord,
Light up the sky with brotherhood of man.

—Frank Morrison

The City of Brotherly Love Comes Through

By ALBERT V. FOWLER

DURING THE WAR Philadelphia was covered by the Fair Employment Practice Committee set up under President Roosevelt's executive order for the whole country. This Committee had to rely solely on the force of public opinion during the famous transit strike because it lacked the power to enforce its decisions. It acted as an entering wedge in the struggle against racial and religious discrimination in the field of employment, and helped bring ugly facts out into the open where the people of Philadelphia could see them.

When the Committee lapsed at the end of hostilities in 1945, many groups in the city had been sufficiently aroused by the facts the Committee had brought out to take action to change them. Among the leaders were the Jewish Community Relations Council and the American Friends Service Committee. The work of these groups, coordinated under the Council for Equal Job Opportunity, was an attempt to find a voluntary solution for the evils of discrimination on a small scale through pilot projects among the department stores and other business concerns of Philadelphia.

Frank Loescher, a Quaker, a member of the FOR, and a professor of sociology, was at that time working for the Race Relations section of the American Friends Service Committee. He interviewed more than a hundred top executives in business, industry and banking in an effort to help young Negro graduates find good jobs in fields formerly closed to them. Only one employer refused to see him. The rest were sympathetic and told him they believed there were Negroes qualified to handle a variety of positions in their firms. But they were unwilling to stick their necks out in hiring Negroes on their own initiative. Several of these businessmen said they would welcome a Fair Employment law for the city because they would then know they were all in the same boat. An occasional Negro was placed in a new job through such efforts, but the tide was strong against any substantial progress by this voluntary method.

A more concerted campaign was carried on to win over the department stores to the voluntary hiring of Negro clerks. Private conversations with the executives of these stores were held in an effort to persuade them that such action would be successful and would benefit all concerned. A measure of progress was achieved. Gimbel's and Stern's went ahead with the experiment of taking on some Negro sales people, with satisfactory results. The other stores, however, held back. Some of them suggested that this was a matter for the Philadelphia Merchants Association to pass on; if the As-

sociation approved the hiring of Negroes for white collar positions all its members would be in the same position and their uneasiness would be allayed. But when the Association was approached on the subject it passed the buck by saying the matter was outside its jurisdiction and was up to the individual stores. There was again in this group some feeling that a city-wide law would be the best way out. Conditions seemed to defy solution on a voluntary basis without a long period of patient spadework.

Campaign for F.E.P.C.

By the middle of 1947 the groups coordinated in the Council for Equal Job Opportunity abandoned the voluntary approach to the problem of discrimination in favor of the passage of a municipal Fair Employment ordinance. A city election was in the offing to fill the offices of City Council and Mayor, and the incumbent Republicans faced an unusually strong opposition. Nathan Agran, of the Jewish Community Relations Council, and Frank Loescher, of the American Friends Service Committee, were released by their organizations on full pay for several months to lead the campaign for a municipal FEPC. Both candidates for Mayor and most of the two slates for City Council, aware of the mounting public pressure for this measure, gave it their approval. After the Republican victory at the polls the ordinance was introduced into the City Council early in 1948 by three white members—a Catholic, a Jew, and a Protestant—and a Negro. The Philadelphia Council of Churches gave the measure its wholehearted support, and following an impressive campaign which culminated in a public hearing led by the Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, the bill was passed by unanimous vote.

Philadelphia now had a law against racial and religious discrimination in employment, and all its 46,000 employers were in the same boat at last. They were no longer being urged to act as individual guinea pigs or to stick their individual necks out voluntarily in such risky ventures as hiring Negroes for white collar jobs. They were one and all responsible under law not to turn down any applicant because of his race, religion or nationality. They were free to set up their own job requirements which applicants would have to meet, but once the applicants had met these requirements they could not be turned away because of the color of their skin, the phrases of their creed, or the spelling of their name.

This law has teeth in it, but they have never yet been used. Private conversations with employers and dependence on persuasion have been carried over from the days before the law was passed, and have been made the main pillars of the settlement of all cases that come before the Fair Employment Commission. Only when every attempt at conference and conciliation and persuasion has failed to settle a complaint can a public hearing be held to determine the final merit of the case. Frank Loescher, who was appointed to direct the practical work of the Commission, and his staff of twelve are a fact-finding body; this group carries on the two main functions of the Commission, the investiga-

tion and settlement of complaints and the city-wide program of education. They are appointed by the five Commissioners and are answerable to them. The Commissioners alone are empowered to invoke a public hearing if and when they feel all other efforts at settlement have failed, and so far they have never done so. The law provides certain fines and penalties for willful continuation of discriminatory practices, but the duty of enforcing such provisions is outside the province of the Commission and rests with the office of City Solicitor.

What were some of the results of the passage of this FEPC law? Among the large department stores where so much work had already been done before the law took effect the results were notable. Wanamaker's hired its first Negro in the personnel office right after the ordinance went through, and for the Christmas rush of 1949 it had twenty colored sales clerks, and its action was undertaken entirely without pressure from the Commission. All the big department stores on Market Street have gone along with Gimbel's and Stern's and Wanamaker's in hiring Negro sales people. One of America's largest insurance companies, which could not be won over to hiring Negroes for clerical work before the law went into effect, now puts them on the payroll without comment. What seemed dangerous and risky and unsound to these and other business concerns throughout the city when they were asked to do it voluntarily and individually now appears in a less lurid light when all are asked to do it together.

The law also applies to newspapers and employment agencies, and the Philadelphia press and its advertisers have turned in a splendid record of removing "Help Wanted" notices specifying race, religion or national origin. Through the painstaking editing of the Bell Telephone Company, discriminatory ads of employment agencies have been eliminated from the Classified Directory. The Chamber of Commerce and the trade associations have cooperated with the Commission in several ways; the Chamber, for example, has sent out to its 2100 members the Commission's interpretation of what questions an employer is now permitted to ask an applicant.

Complaints Come In

As soon as the Commission was well established in its City Hall offices late in 1948, available to anyone who feels the sting of discrimination, the complaints began to come in. Most of them were brought by individuals on their own initiative, and over half of them have been based on race or color. Let's look at some of these complaints and see how they are handled and how they turn out.

A Negro answered an ad for elevator operator and was told by the captain that the job was open only to whites. It took a day or so before he was able to see the assistant manager who did the actual hiring, and by that time the job had been filled. Because he had applied when the position was still open he felt he should have been accepted or rejected on his qualifications, and came to City Hall to file a charge of discrimination.

The Commission staff arranged a meeting with the assistant manager, the general manager and the

elevator captain to discuss the complaint. It became apparent early in their conversation that the general manager knew nothing of the incident and was not aware of the policy of hiring whites only. When his subordinates pointed out that this had been the policy for many years before he assumed control of the business he replied that from then on as long as he remained in charge men would be hired only on the basis of their ability to do the job. He invited the man who had brought the charge to come back and try again for the position of elevator operator.

Vice Versa

Sometimes a case comes up which reverses the expected roles. A Negro short order cook was fired by a restaurant and replaced by a white cook. He filed charges of racial discrimination. Investigation brought out the fact that he had been fired by a Negro chef for unsatisfactory work. This chef tried to advertise for another Negro cook as he had been accustomed to do before the law took effect, but the papers refused to run a discriminatory ad. Consequently the notice read simply "Cook Wanted." Whites and Negroes applied for the job, and the chef hired the best qualified cook. He was white.

The Commission doesn't exist for only one group in the community. Its purpose is to insure fair employment for all, colored and white, Catholic, Protestant and Jew, native and foreign-born. It not only helps people directly but gives them the chance to help themselves. Not long ago it helped a Negro who had been passed over in favor of a white man to secure a deserved promotion in a firm with a stated policy of promotion based on seniority. This put heart in the company's other colored workers, who for years had been convinced they had no chance for better jobs. Many applied for promotion and several of their applications were granted. Within a short time this one incident had brought about a change in the company's attitude and in the workers' psychology.

Complaints are brought against unions as well as employers, for the law applies to both. A skilled Negro had worked for many years on non-union jobs for a company which now wanted to use him on a contract calling for union labor. Neither he nor his employer could get the required work permit from the union, so he filed a charge of racial discrimination against the union. The Commission staff found his references and qualifications satisfactory and contacted the union office. Here it met with evasion and vague replies at first, but over a period of time as the union became familiar with the provisions of the law its attitude toward the situation underwent a change. The method of conciliation and persuasion was successful in the end, and this Negro went to work with the permit in his pocket. Attitudes and habits do not change overnight, and the time needed for investigation and adjustment allows a change to develop gradually in an atmosphere free from any hint or threat of prosecution.

The main emphasis of the Commission's work is on education, whether indirect as in these cases or directly carried on through a

(*Continued on page* 32)

News from the Peace Front

CPS Camps May Be Revived

It is reported from Washington that Selective Service headquarters is preparing a plan for alternative service for COs, who are now completely deferred if they receive IV-E classification. A. Stauffer Curry of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors confirmed a report that the NSBRO expects any day to be called for consultation with Selective Service officials on the subject. The NSBRO has the names of 12,212 COs in its files, and says that the number increases daily. How many of these would be drafted and how many would have agricultural or dependency deferments is not known.

E. Raymond Wilson of the Friends Committee on National Legislation said that even though General Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service Director, "has repeatedly said he doesn't want the headache the job involves," SS officials fear criticism from Congress if they continue to defer COs.

COs Face Prison Sentences

Amos Brokaw of Muncie, Indiana, who has already served two prison terms as a CO, was ordered to report for induction on October 12. His first term was for walking out of CPS, the second for refusing to register under the Selective Service Act of 1948. Prison officials registered him on his release in November 1949 and he later received a questionnaire which he refused to fill out. He has not yet been tried.

Kenneth Champney of Yellow Springs, Ohio, was ordered to report for induction on November 3.

Gerald Haines, who served in the armed forces during World War II and served a three-month sentence in Ashland prison over a year ago for refusing to register under SS 1948, reports that his order to report for induction was cancelled.

Donald R. Fisk of Seattle, a nonregistrant, was tried in Federal Court on December 12, and sentenced to 2½ years in prison.

Alfred Dana of Carmel, California, was arrested for refusing to take the oath of induction into the Army in San Francisco. He was released in $1,000 bail after a few days and was to be tried on December 26. His objections to the armed forces are conscientious, but he had had no previous contact with peace organizations.

Indiana's General Assembly will soon consider a revision of the state bonus law, which forbids bonuses to COs even if they have served in the armed forces. Two Indiana COs who served as noncombatants in the army were killed, and their dependents received no bonus.

Raleigh Pickard, medical student who was training to go to Korea as a medical missionary and who refused to register for the doctors' draft, is not at the University of Berkeley, as reported in January FELLOWSHIP, but at the University of California, which is in Berkeley.

Brotherhood Campaign Well Under Way

The Pledge Brotherhood Campaign, in which individuals pledge themselves, so far as it lies in their power, to refuse to use facilities that are not available to all men regardless of race, creed or color, and to participate in at least one project for ending discrimination where it is found to exist, was off to a good start this year. People who participated in 1950, the first year of the project, enthusiastically pledged themselves for February 1951, and there were many new names as well.

The race relations situation in this country is undergoing a period of constant change, and promises to produce many interesting experiences for the Pledge Brotherhood participants, as it did last year. For further information write to George Houser, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York City.

French CO Law Unlikely to Pass

The bill to provide for legal recognition for COs which was introduced into the French parliament by André Philip and five other Deputies seems to have little chance of passing now. André Trocmé, European FOR Secretary, reports that although public sympathy was good last year, the present emergency and the situation of France have pushed this issue into the background. "The problem of France's and Germany's rearmament, the growing tension around the Korean and Chinese situation, the pressure exerted by the U.S., the enslavement of France, its lack of independence due to the golden ties of the Marshall Plan, the fear of Germany and Russia have completely changed the mind of the Deputies," he says. The Committee for Legal Recognition of COs continues to work through every possible channel, but meanwhile COs are tried and sentenced again and again. Several have already been in jail for five years, and unless a law is passed they have no prospect but further prison sentences to look forward to. The Protestant church, André Trocmé reports, is almost wholly in favor of legal recognition of COs, as are some circles in the Catholic Church, but they are not enough.

Hearing Held on Reserve Resignation

First Lieutenant Walter E. Olson of Berkeley, California, who submitted his resignation from the Officers' Reserve Corps and was told that such resignations could be accepted only where "extreme compassionate reasons" exist, has had a hearing to determine whether such reasons did exist in his case. He wrote to the officer who had answered his letter and was invited to the Oakland Army Base on November 24 for a hearing, and told to bring along someone from a religious organization who could speak for the Christian pacifist point of view. He was accompanied by Victor Goff, Wesley Foundation director in Berkeley and an FOR member. The board which heard him has not yet announced its decision.

Oppose Japanese Remilitarization

Sixty-six religious leaders and educators, headed by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, FOR member and minister emeritus of Community Church in New York, issued a statement on December 18 opposing the remilitarization of Japan. Reports are that the United States is now pressing for a Japanese peace treaty that will place no restrictions on Japanese rearmament and would thus nullify the war-renouncing clause in the Japanese constitution. The statement urged that a Japan "which was genuinely independent of western control" would probably be "more secure against Russian attack than a remilitarized Japan."

Pacifist Runs in State Election

November elections in Connecticut saw Mrs. Ellen Paullin, FOR member, running in Newington on the Democratic ticket for the State Assembly, and losing by only 174 votes to her Republican opponent in a town which is registered Republican 2 to 1. Mrs. Paullin ran against Mrs. Arline Benson, and received 1979 votes to Mrs. Benson's 2185.

"My experience was a very rewarding one," she wrote later, "and I recommend it to all housewives who want to render real service to their communities. I found I could be in politics and still be a pacifist, though of course if I'd been elected it might have been more difficult! . . .

"I conducted a house-to-house campaign, which meant I learned lots about how people live and had many extraordinary conversations. The last two weeks I distributed colored oleo (it is prohibited in Connecticut by Republican legislators) and much of the time I campaigned on my bicycle, both of which added color and publicity to my campaign. We succeeded in organizing a very active, diligent Democratic Town Committee, reconciled all the factions within it which had been warring against each other for years, and now have a good foundation for future community action . . . I was chiefly interested in the education issue, which is the reason I decided to accept the nomination in the beginning. This town is growing so fast we can't afford to build the necessary schools without state aid, and the Republican legislature kept voting it down."

Letson Wins Loyalty Appeal

Joseph Letson, former Engineering Aid on the Cedar Bluff dam in Kansas, who was fired for loyalty reasons apparently based on his pacifist beliefs, was restored to his Federal civil service standing in late October by a Loyalty Review Board, and reinstated to his job. However, he and his family in the meantime had moved to Glen Gardner, N. J., where he works at the Libertarian Press, workers' cooperative, and he decided not to return to Kansas. It is still not known whether he will receive his four months' back salary from the government.

Oppose Use of Atomic Bomb

A resolution protesting possible use of the atom bomb was sent to President Truman and Secretary of Defense Marshall on December 8 by sixty Methodist ministers in the Albion-Lansing district of Michigan. The signers said that the bomb's previous use had not prevented the present crisis and felt its use was contrary to Christian ethics, and declared their opposition to its use "in any way."

In Buffalo, New York, eighty Protestant clergymen of various denominations issued a statement on December 4 which also condemned the use of the atom bomb in strong terms. The ministers declared that talk of possible use of the bomb had caused them to search their hearts to see whether they had yet shown a readiness "to sacrifice as much for peace as we are now called upon to do for war," and said they could "find no basis in our Gospel for the spirit of vindictiveness now sweeping our land."

Second Issue of *Alternative* Banned

The monthly *Alternative*, whose September-October issue was banned from the mails as treasonable because it urged men to resist or evade the draft, has had its November issue banned also. This issue included sections urging people to become world citizens, who owe no allegiance to any nation state; to refuse to adhere to the provisions of the McCarran anti-subversive act; and to refuse to make or bear arms.

The editors of *Alternative* declared it their belief that the government is afraid to have both sides of the war question presented to the public. Their answer was to make a redoubled effort to encourage people to resist recruiting and soldiers to refuse to be murderers, and for this purpose they intend to print twice as many copies as formerly and to set up centers of distribution by hand, since the mails appear to be closed to them.

Manchester College Has Peace Studies Course

At Manchester College, in North Manchester, Indiana, a student can major in Peace Studies to obtain a degree of Bachelor of Arts. The curriculum is under the direction of FOR-member Gladdys E. Muir, Professor of History and Director of Peace Studies, and includes courses in the Philosophy of Peace, Techniques and Procedures of Peacemaking, International Relations, and the Bases of Enduring Peace, as well as related courses in history, political science, economics, sociology, psychology and religion.

A school teacher who has taught for more than 25 years has made a practice of letting children chew gum in class, charging them 5c an hour for the privilege. During her teaching career she has collected more than $14,000 this way, which she has contributed to various causes, among them the American Friends Service Committee.

Peace Personalities Abroad

Walser Memorial Program in Japan

On November 18 in Tokyo a Noh performance was held, consisting of three plays interspersed with singing and dancing, and lasting from noon to almost 7 p.m., in honor of Dr. Theodore D. Walser, FOR member who devoted 26 years of his life to work as a missionary in Japan.

Over 800 people attended in spite of a pouring rain, and the audience included Princess Chichibu, Princess Kitashirakawa, Madam Yoriko Tokugawa and three other members of the Imperial Household. The proceeds of the performance will go to the Walser Memorial Fund, which will be used to hold periodical peace essay contests for students in technical schools, colleges and universities in Japan, and to establish a library of peace books there. The first essay contest was announced recently, and received widespread publicity in Japanese newspapers, including the *Nippon Times*, which is printed in English, and *Asahi*, in Japanese. Three prizes of 15,000 yen each will be awarded to the winners to pay their tuition in school for the next year.

Program for Japanese War Prisoners

A program was given on Christmas Day at Sugamo Prison in Tokyo for the more than 1400 Japanese war crimes prisoners held there. It was arranged by the Prisoner of War Committee of the YMCA, with which the Japanese FOR is working closely, and by the prisoners themselves. The FOR here and in Japan is working for a commutation of sentence for these prisoners, especially in the case of those under sentence of death. It is believed that there will be no further executions of war crimes prisoners who are held in Japan itself, but there are still a number in other parts of the Far East.

Destitute Villages of Galilee Visited

An AFSC relief worker who recently revisited Galilee, penetrating deeply into the village life which has so strangely stood still and yet moved on, writes that two thousand years roll back easily from those hills where "they sat down by hundreds and by thousands on the green grass," as one gazes over the rolling landscape. Villagers are poor, huddled together, suffering from lack of medical help and the undesired but enforced idleness of refugees, yet—the old charm lingers on. The visitor is surrounded with friendliness, given a cup of coffee and a simple meal, offered a straw sleeping mattress, while their hosts shelve their sufferings and sorrows.

All these people are now farmers. Thousands have lost much of their land but tend with pride any plot that remains and are deeply content with the harvest achieved. They appear satisfied with simple living, rejoicing in work, finding fulfillment in fellowship.

FOR Active in French Scene

The French FOR, represented by European Secretary André Trocmé, is a member of the Cartel International pour la Paix, which unites about twenty French peace organizations, all more or less sympathetic to the FOR point of view. Among these groups the World Citizens and the monthly Esprit (Catholic) are the best-known and largest. New impetus has been given to the study of nonviolence by the publication in France of a book *Can a Christian Be a CO?* by a Jesuit father, who does not answer Yes, but does show that there is no contradiction between the teachings of the Catholic Church and conscientious objection.

Recently, André Trocmé reports, the Cartel discussed at length the position of the Combattants de la Paix, the pro-Communist peace movement, who were then planning a conference in Sheffield, England, which has since been held. The Combattants "have shown quite suddenly during these last weeks an openmindedness toward other peace movements which can be the expression either of a real desire for peace or of a clever maneuver to annex the sympathy of non-Communists for the Eastern cause," he wrote.

In November a one-day conference was held in Paris with 200 delegates from fifteen French peace groups, at which André Trocmé spoke for an hour on resistance to war. Among those present were Communist and pro-Communist Deputies, many of whom had intended to go to the Sheffield conference but had been refused admittance to England. They invited André to make the same speech at Sheffield, but though he felt they had been really receptive to his Christian pacifist speech he declined, since he was not convinced that there was any real change in the Communist "peace" policy or program.

Huge Numbers of Refugees in World

Eight million refugees in western Germany, four million in the Soviet Zone, one third of a million in Austria, half a million in Greece, three quarters of a million Arab refugees in the Middle East, hundreds of thousands in two-way traffic between East and West Bengal and now uncounted numbers in Korea call for our compassion. For them it is a struggle merely to survive.

The number of refugees in western Germany is growing, those arriving from the eastern zones varying from 23,000 to 40,000 a month.

A recent missionary report gives a glimpse at the misery in Korea. Some three or four hundred pastors, it says, have fled all the way from Seoul and north of there to Taegu. About an equal number have located in Pusan, having fled from the west side of the peninsula. Flocks are scattered and many are destitute. A large school building has been arranged for them to which about sixty to eighty a day are being moved and provided for to the extent possible.

Quakers and other organizations are working in all these places, aware that their help may be only a "drop in the bucket" but driven by the need and confident in their faith that good is measured in other than quantitative results.

Jottings

The Chicago Commission on Human Relations gave anti-bias awards in December to nine people, including the Rev. Robert Johnson and FOR-member Rev. William Lovell, Negro and white ministers of South Congregational Church; and to Miss Lucy Carner, FOR member and Executive Secretary of the division on Education of the Welfare Council of Chicago, who received a special citation for professional leadership in the welfare field.

* * *

Prof. Alfred G. Fisk, FOR member, will take a seminar to India, Pakistan and Ceylon in the summer of 1951. Interviews with leaders, including Prime Minister Nehru of India, are planned, and stops will be made at Honolulu, Manila, Singapore and Rangoon. For further information write to Dr. Fisk at San Francisco State College, San Francisco 2, Calif.

* * *

The Chicago FOR sponsored a Prayer Vigil for Peace on December 6 at the Chicago Temple, from 12 noon to 11 p.m. Attendance ranged from thirty to one hundred, in spite of rain and slushy streets, and newspaper and radio reports were full and sympathetic.

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The German Branch of the War Resisters League has declared to the West German government its opposition to remilitarization and to the setting up of an army camouflaged as police.

The American Friends Service Committee is arranging one-day conferences in the Middle Atlantic States for three FOR members. James Farmer is available April 1-6, Donald Harrington April 22-27 and Milton Mayer April 22-27. For further information write to James E. Bristol, AFSC, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia.

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The Bonn Government of Western Germany has decided to dismiss all government employees who are members of the Communist Party or of organizations that are considered Communist fronts.

* * *

Miss Elizabeth Gilman of Baltimore, faithful and ardent FOR member since 1928 and indefatigable in every fight for the greater freedom and honor of man, died in December after a long illness.

* * *

On December 1 in Los Angeles, Glenn Smiley called a prayer service of ministers over the international crisis, and obtained the agreement of ministers in Whittier, LaVerne, Covina, Baldwin Park, and El Monte to do the same. Whittier College and LaVerne College FOR members planned to arrange student prayer services.

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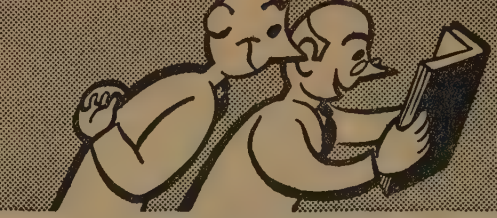
Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa and FOR-member Dr. Harold Bosley were the main speakers at Drake University's Religious Emphasis Week on November 27-30.



Books

Our Institutions

The Shame of the States, by Albert Deutsch. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948. 188 pp., $3.00.

In this fact-filled and well-titled book, supplemented by photos and sketches, Albert Deutsch is his usual brilliant self in exposing the evils of our state mental hospitals and suggesting methods for improvement.

The author spares no part of the country in this strong indictment. Making personal tours of inspection (in the company of photographers) of some of our largest state institutions, he finds all too commonly those prevalent evils—overcrowding, untrained and underpaid attendants, inadequate psychiatric facilities and too few psychiatrists, antiquated buildings, poor food, brutality, excessive use of restraint, and so forth ad nauseam.

If one finds Deutsch's journalistic account hard to believe, the photos will dispel all doubt as to its authenticity. The picture of the male "incontinent ward" at Byberry is a classic in itself.

Credit is given gladly to institutions and their superintendents when it is due. Justifiably harsh criticism, which is more often called for, is unsparingly detailed by this competent, well-informed reporter.

The sad but inescapable fact that Deutsch tells us is this: "Not a single state mental hospital in the United States meets, or ever has met, even the minimum standards set by the American Psychiatric Association in all major aspects of care and treatment."

The people of this country are becoming more aware of the "shame" of state mental hospitals, for which awareness the author is responsible to a considerable degree.

What and who is at fault and what can be done about it? Personal devils are not at fault. The real culprit is "an impersonal patchwork known as the state hospital system which has fed, down the decades, on official neglect, professional indifference, and public ignorance."

As to what progress is being made, Deutsch lauds the National Mental Health Act, which became law in 1947, as "our generation's greatest single measure" in behalf of state hospital reform. He also gives recognition to the work of COs in this field during the war, and to their establishment of the National Mental Health Foundation in Philadelphia.

In conclusion, an Ideal State Hospital is outlined, and it is suggested that all of us help toward this goal by banding together in organized national and local groups for improved mental hygiene facilities, joining campaigns for decent legislative appropriations, keeping ourselves informed of conditions by visits and study, raising institutional morale by taking a personal interest in hospitals.

stimulating local newspapers to report on conditions, and supporting, financially and otherwise, all efforts to improve our mental hygiene resources.

If this doesn't seem necessary or isn't challenging enough, read the book and you will be thoroughly convinced otherwise.

—Robert Hegler

The Experience of Truth

In Our Midst, by Robert Morton Hazelton. Island Press, 1948. 182 pp., $3.00.

A review of any production by the Island Press calls for mention, honorable though brief, of that interesting publishing experiment in which the aim of excellency is being worked out through the method of author-cooperation. It is to be hoped that continuing success will be had by this group, not only in meeting the abnormal cost-problem which threatens publishing today, but in presenting worthwhile and courageous books on social and religious questions.

In Our Midst will be interesting, instructive and inspiring to all pacifists, whether their individual emphasis is on contemplative vocational pacifism or on its active political application. The author, a Friend, brings to his study a long family history of interest in the "Inner Light" from forebears in the Seventeenth Century, and draws his material from the whole sweep of Quaker history on both sides of the water.

Yet the book is neither a history of the movement nor a pacifist apology, but rather an account of the process of growth in the experience of Truth. The ten steps or stages are illustrated both by the central teachings of the movement and by some of its outstanding personalities.

In the biographical chapters we find unaccustomed material treated in a vital manner. To this reviewer, chapters 7, 8 and 9, dealing with the strong personalities of James Nayler, Job Scott, and David Sands, are the most helpful. The biographical data, while fresh, is held subordinate to the stages illustrated by these lives, respectively, Adventure in Truth, Adventure in Eternity, and Adventure in Refreshment.

The reasonableness and effectiveness of the way of Truth to individual realization and to social life are set forth in non-polemic but convincing manner, and summed up by the author in the following passage:

"Discovery, Responsibility, Spiritual Worship, Obedience, Union, and Perseverance seem to be the stages which lead into greater experiences, individual action and intellectual life, and greater usefulness of the resources which society represents. Out of this process we may expect to bring forth new fruits which are present in potentiality 'in our midst.' "

—George Miles Gibson

Pacifist Theology

Defeat Triumphant, by Lewis Maclachlan. Henry Regnery, 1949. 84 pp., $2.00.

A concise and clear exposition in untechnical terms of the basis in theology for Christian pacifism. Confronting the defeatism of "life as it is," the author avoids the pits of optimistic liberalism and of

Barth's theological escapism. He sets our feet on the firm ground of the way of life revealed by Jesus. It is a good handbook to place beside Macgregor's *New Testament Basis of Pacifism.*

—JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

New Thoughts

Meditations, by Toyohiko Kagawa, translated by Jiro Takenaka. Harper and Brothers, 1950. $1.25.

Kagawa has written a new book of meditations which is easily as good as any of the other excellent books he has written. In it are new thoughts and great writing which stimulate the mind as meditation should. One meditation, "The Challenge of Materialism," begins:

> "Virility always goes with an adventurous spirit. So-called good men are often too weak to be really virtuous."

Another meditation, "Love as Melting Power" begins with these words: "Such a religion as is merely preached by mouth and heard by outer ears will soon be denied. The genuine gospel is the religion which is preached by love."

In some respects this book is autobiographical, for there are a number of references to Kagawa's life, such as that about the new value of meditation "since the loss of my eyesight," and his brief story of living "in lonesome fright up to the age of eleven in the country of Awa Province" which he tells in his meditation "A Fearless Religious Life." Similarly, there is a meditation on "Blessings in Jail." And one on "More Than Violence" wherein he gives the basis of his pacifism, saying: "I cannot commit an act of violence against others to oppose violence on their part, knowing that violence is at all times evil."

In another meditation on nonviolent love he writes: "If the sacrifice is not begrudged, social evolution will be better furthered in one's being killed than in killing... Those who fear making the sacrifice love demands are compelled to fight. Those who have faith in the value of sacrifice, embrace the principle of nonviolence."

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

ADVERTISEMENTS

Young German girl, 13½ years old, known personally by German friends of FOR members here, would like to live with American family for a year and go to school here, can probably find own passage. Her name is Jutta Hederer, and she goes to high school and likes it. She is Catholic, but does not require a Catholic family or school if there is a Catholic church near enough for her to worship there. Write FELLOWSHIP.

Etchings of Gandhi, by Eberhard Tacke of Berlin. $2.50 each, the entire price goes to the work of the FOR, since the etchings are donated by the author. Each etching is 9 x 12" and suitable for framing. Write FOR Literature Department.

1950 releases 5c each 12 for 50c

The Korean War As An Unemployment Liquidation Project (Oct.)
You Can Make History (Nov.)
War Prevention or Civil Defense (Oct.)

Truth-Bomb Explodes Over Korea (July)

Are You Hypnotized? (July)
Would You Make A Good Cave Man? (June)
Who Are the 47 Percenters? (May)
How to Commit Suicide (May)
You May Be Selected (May)
What About the H-Bomb (March)
Militarization Pocket Reference Cards
Unusual Peace Letter

U.S. Committee Against Militarization
6329-f May Street, Chicago 21, Illinois

"The Need: Unconditional Surrender to World Government—United States—Russia," two-tone color printed on blue lined business envelopes ½c each delivered. Stamps accepted. ALEC C. BEASLEY, R. R. 1, KELOWNA, B.C., CANADA.

Letters

Defends Socialist Party

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

There are a number of pacifists who are concerned about the fact that the Socialist Party supports the UN action in Korea. However, while we pacifists may disagree with this position of that party I am firmly convinced that we should continue to support it because (1) the Party is working for peace proposals, against militarization and for a social order ending exploitation as well as the economic causes of war, (2) the Party has more pacifists in proportion to its membership and leadership than any other party, (3) the Socialist Party is very democratic, and the membership can change decisions at conventions.

(1) The Socialist Party has been waging a vigorous campaign for universal disarmament, against universal military training, against all imperialism, against the militarization of America, and for a strengthened UN leading toward world government. The Party has also worked for democratic socialism viz. a planned economy which would produce for the needs of the people. It would replace the present profit-seeking exploitative order which is one cause of war.

(2) The national chairman of the Party, Darlington Hoopes, is a pacifist and was the vice presidential candidate in 1944—the middle of a war. There is a minority of pacifists on the national executive committees of both the Socialist Party and its youth section. I have heard also that about half the Socialist Party candidates in this fall's election in Pennsylvania were pacifists. And it is widely known that the SP has more pacifists in proportion to its membership than any other party.

(3) The Socialist Party structure is so democratic that at the last convention the position of its national executive committee and of its most outstanding figure, Norman Thomas, was reversed on a major question. Those who agree with the basic tenets of democratic socialism but who differ with some of the positions taken by the Party have always been invited to join and work for a change within the Party.

It seems to me that since the Socialist Party is not at present composed of a majority of pacifists it took the best position available to a nonpacifist movement. Gandhi has clearly pointed out that if a person is not a pacifist it is better to fight evil with violence than to be cowardly or indifferent.

Therefore, I urge continued support of the Socialist Party because of its work for peace and socialism, its strong pacifist minority and its democratic structure.

JOHN M. MECARTNEY
Garrett Biblical Institute
Evanston, Illinois

Cost of Living

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The budget on the Letters page of the November issue interests me because I have been very much involved in such minimums, their causes and results, for years. A minimum productive "voluntary poverty" and pacifism budget for one in New York City could be:

Dollars per month	
Groceries and meals	$18
Transportation (4 rides per day)	12
Phone (1 a day)	1.50
Clothing, personal and miscellaneous	4
Rent and household	15
Entertainment once a week	2
	$52.50

This comes to $630 per year. Medical and dental free clinics, of course. The budget given in November seems to infer prepossession of other material, reliance on others' "holdings" and/or ditto of a God's green acre and home birthright.

JAMES W. TURNER
Yonkers, New York

The Dark Night

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In times like these, I am profoundly grateful. It seems to me the stupidity of the world is reaching a new peak of incredibility. Yet still there is that wonderful Christian love which is still living and which can never be stamped out. (Woe unto those that try.)

I am watching the mail box for the next copy of the FOR magazine as I know it will be full of powerful stuff. It gives me so much courage and comfort. . . .

I think we should be thankful that we live in such dark times. The darker the night the brighter the light. The brighter the light, the more souls that will see it. It is really a time of glorious opportunity. As I told my husband, *we, too,* can be forefathers. I have been spending some thought on the idea since I discarded the 1776 variety.

LEELA B. LONNECKER
Merriam, Kansas

New Member

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am deeply of the opinion that pacifism is the Christian way. I have always been of the opinion that jimcrow should be abolished.

Will buy FELLOWSHIP and pin and pitch in otherwise when find job. I am 15

DONALD E. LOG
Fairfield, Iowa

PHILADELPHIA

(*Continued from page* 20)

broad program of publicity to reach the average Philadelphian. Using reliable methods of community organization the Commission has joined forces with the school system, the churches, the AFL and CIO, and segments of organized business to make FEPC part of their own year-round activities. This important base of education has been supplemented by posters and car cards in trolleys, buses and commuters' trains which have carried the story of fair employment across the city and into the suburbs. Many addresses by members of the staff and frequent radio broadcasts have helped the effort to bring about a healthier attitude toward minority groups.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Checklist on Race Relations √ √ √

How many of these have you read? And how many are of the "That's one I've always meant to read, but . . ." variety? They can be useful to you, now especially, both for catching up yourself and to help in your Pledge Brotherhood project this month.

√ RELIGION AND RACE: BARRIERS TO COLLEGE? — 20c
By A. C. Ivy and Irwin Ross

√ NOSING OUT PREJUDICE — 5c
By Fern M. Colborn

√ ERASING THE COLOR LINE — 40c
By George M. Houser
(Now being reprinted)

√ CRUMBLING BARRIERS — 25c
By Constance Rumbough

√ WE CHALLENGED JIM CROW — 10c
By George Houser and Bayard Rustin

√ PRIMER FOR SOCIAL ACTION — 25c
By Homer A. Jack

√ THE NEGRO IN AMERICA — 20c
By Maxwell S. Stewart

√ ABC's OF SCAPEGOATING — 20c
By Gordon W. Allport

√ SENSE AND NONSENSE ABOUT RACE — 25c
By Ethel J. Alpenfels

√ LOOK AWAY — 25c
50 Negro Folk Songs

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CULBERT G. RUTENBER

The Dagger and the Cross

Pacifism and Christianity, a discussion that will challenge both "conservative" and "liberal" Christians to re-think their beliefs.

$1.00

PHILIPPE VERNIER

With the Master

Translated by Edith Lovejoy Pierce

Reprinted by demand, this first book of meditations by the Belgian pastor and FOR-member was drawn from the sincere and eloquent worship of a man who has dared much and suffered much for what he believes.

$1.50

GANDHI AND THE H-BOMB

By A. J. Muste

In this pamphlet the National Secretary of the FOR suggests a pacifist foreign policy, a way of meeting the present world situation and of dealing with Russia.

15c

MEAT IN DUE SEASON

By Milton Mayer

Why aren't all world government advocates pacifists? And why do pacifists think that those that are not will never achieve world government?

15c

PACIFISM AND PERFECTIONISM

By A. J. Muste

The neo-orthodox case against pacifism, so strongly and influentially put by such people as Reinhold Niebuhr, is answered in this pamphlet.

15c

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